

Southern Methodist University
DALLAS, TEXAS

Toward New Horizons

THE WORLD BEYOND THE WAR

FOREWORD

From time to time the Office of War Information will publish statements and speeches which define or illuminate the developing policy of the United Nations.

This is the first such publication. The speeches of Vice President Henry A. Wallace, Under Secretary of State Sumner Welles, Ambassador John G. Winant, and Milo Perkins, Executive Director of the Board of Economic Warfare, are combined in this pamphlet because of the light they throw upon the development of American thinking on the subject of the post-war world from their various points of view. In relation to their varied fields of responsibility, these American leaders chart out the problem and suggest lines of attack upon it. They are not, however, speeches which will be of interest only to scholars and historians. Individual citizens as well will find in these speeches clarification of their personal relation to the winning of the war and to the peace which will follow.

—ELMER DAVIS, *Director*

Toward New Horizons

This war economy is a completely abnormal situation; it is also a completely temporary situation. There will come a day when this stupendous production of military goods is no longer necessary. The gigantic factories which now work night and day to turn out implements of death and destruction will eventually exhaust their markets.

What happens then?

The answer to that question is up to us.

You can conjure up a nightmare for yourself if you choose, of course. You can imagine that all of this activity will just stop, overnight; that the men who are now so busy will fall into idleness; that the marvelous strength and energy which are now being used so fully will somehow be dissipated; that the Nation which so brilliantly found the way to produce for destruction will be utterly baffled by the problem of producing for peace. You can grow despondent thinking about the terrible slump that will bring our economy down about our ears after the war.

But I do not for a minute believe that anything of the kind will happen.

We shall have no one to blame but ourselves if it does. Must we be so stupid as to throw away the skill, the resources, and the strength which we have now developed? Can't we do anything with this magnificent machine that we have harnessed for our service?

Of course we can do something with it . . . For a generation we have been living on the edge of a new world; we are only now beginning to realize it.

For the first time in the history of the human race there can be enough of everything to go around. Poverty is not inevitable any more. The sum total of the world's greatest possible output of goods divided by the sum total of the world's inhabitants no longer means a little less than enough for everybody. It means more than enough. The possibilities in that simple statement are beyond calculation—and what we are fighting for is the right to turn some of those possibilities into realities.

—DONALD M. NELSON

VICE PRESIDENT WALLACE *states the case**—

We who in a formal or an informal way represent most of the free peoples of the world are met here tonight in the interests of the millions in all the nations who have freedom in their souls. To my mind this meeting has just one purpose—to let those millions in other countries know that here in the United States are 130 million men, women, and children who are in this war to the finish. Our American people are utterly resolved to go on until they can strike the relentless blows that will assure a complete victory, and with it win a new day for the lovers of freedom, everywhere on this earth.

This is a fight between a slave world and a free world. Just as the United States in 1862 could not remain half slave and half free, so in 1942 the world must make its decision for a complete victory one way or the other.

Roots of Our Freedom

As we begin the final stages of this fight to the death between the free world and the slave world, it is worth while to refresh our minds about the march of freedom for the common man. The idea of freedom—the freedom that we in the United States know and love so well—is derived from the Bible with its extraordinary emphasis on the dignity of the individual. Democracy is the only true political expression of Christianity.

The prophets of the Old Testament were the first to preach social justice. But that which was sensed by the prophets many centuries before Christ was not given complete and powerful political expression until our Nation was formed as a Federal Union a century and a half ago. Even then, the march of the common people had just begun. Most of them did not yet know how to read and write. There were no public schools to which all children could go. Men and women cannot be really free until they have plenty to eat, and time and ability to read and think and talk things over. Down the years, the people of the United States have moved steadily forward in the practice of democracy. Through universal education, they now can read and write and form opinions of their own. They have learned, and are still

learning, the art of production—that is, how to make a living. They have learned, and are still learning, the art of self-government.

If we were to measure freedom by standards of nutrition, education, and self-government, we might rank the United States and certain nations of western Europe very high. But this would not be fair to other nations where education has become widespread only in the last 20 years. In many nations, a generation ago, nine out of ten of the people could not read or write. Russia, for example, was changed from an illiterate to a literate nation within one generation and, in the process, Russia's appreciation of freedom was enormously enhanced. In China, the increase during the past 30 years in the ability of the people to read and write has been matched by their increased interest in real liberty.

Everywhere, reading and writing are accompanied by industrial progress, and industrial progress sooner or later inevitably brings a strong labor movement. From a long-time and fundamental point of view, there are no backward peoples which are lacking in mechanical sense. Russians, Chinese, and the Indians both of India and the Americas all learn to read and write and operate machines just as well as your children and my children. Everywhere the common people are on the march. Thousands of them are learning to read and write, learning to think together, learning to use tools. These people are learning to think and work together in labor movements, some of which may be extreme or impractical at first, but which eventually will settle down to serve effectively the interests of the common man.

The World Moves Ahead

When the freedom-loving people march—when the farmers have an opportunity to buy land at reasonable prices and to sell the produce of their land through their own organizations, when workers have the opportunity to form unions and bargain through them collectively, and when the children of all the people have an opportunity to attend schools which teach them the truths of the real world in which they live—when these opportunities are open to everyone, then the world moves straight ahead.

*Before the Free World Association, New York City, May 8, 1942.

But in countries where the ability to read and write has been recently acquired or where the people have had no long experience in governing themselves on the basis of their own thinking, it is easy for demagogues to arise and prostitute the mind of the common man to their own base ends. Such a demagogue may get financial help from some person of wealth who is unaware of what the end result will be. With this backing, the demagogue may dominate the minds of the people, and, from whatever degree of freedom they have, lead them backward into slavery. Herr Thyssen, the wealthy German steel man, little realized what he was doing when he gave Hitler enough money to enable him to play on the minds of the German people. The demagogue is the curse of the modern world, and, of all the demagogues, the worst are those financed by well-meaning wealthy men who sincerely believe that their wealth is likely to be safer if they can hire men with political "it" to change the sign posts and lure the people back into slavery of the most degraded kind. Unfortunately for the wealthy men who finance movements of this sort, as well as for the people themselves, the successful demagogue is a powerful genie who, when once let out of his bottle, refuses to obey anyone's command. As long as his spell holds, he defies God Himself, and Satan is turned loose upon the world.

Through the leaders of the Nazi revolution, Satan now is trying to lead the common man of the whole world back into slavery and darkness. For the stark truth is that the violence preached by the Nazis is the devil's own religion of darkness. So also is the doctrine that one race or one class is by heredity superior and that all other races or classes are supposed to be slaves. The belief in one Satan-inspired Fuehrer, with his Quislings, his Laval, and his Mussolini—his "gauleiters" in every nation in the world—is the last and ultimate darkness. Is there any hell hotter than that of being a Quisling, unless it is that of being a Laval or a Mussolini?

In a twisted sense, there is something almost great in the figure of the Supreme Devil operating through a human form, in a Hitler who has the daring to spit straight into the eye of God and man. But the Nazi system has a heroic position for only one leader. By definition only one person is allowed to retain full sovereignty over his own soul. All the rest are stooges—they are stooges who have been mentally and politically degraded, and who

feel that they can get square with the world only by mentally and politically degrading other people. These stooges are really psychopathic cases. Satan has turned loose upon us the insane.

The People's Revolution

The march of freedom of the past 150 years has been a long-drawn-out people's revolution. In this Great Revolution of the people, there were the American Revolution of 1775, the French Revolution of 1792, the Latin-American revolutions of the Bolivarian era, the German Revolution of 1848, and the Russian Revolution of 1918. Each spoke for the common man in terms of blood on the battlefield. Some went to excess. But the significant thing is that the people groped their way to the light. More of them learned to think and work together.

The people's revolution aims at peace and not at violence, but if the rights of the common man are attacked, it unleashes the ferocity of a she-bear who has lost a cub. When the Nazi psychologists tell their master Hitler that we in the United States may be able to produce hundreds of thousands of planes, but that we have no will to fight, they are only fooling themselves and him. The truth is that when the rights of the American people are transgressed, as those rights have been transgressed, the American people will fight with a relentless fury which will drive the ancient Teutonic gods back cowering into their caves. The *Götterdämmerung* has come for Odin and his crew.

The people are on the march toward even fuller freedom than the most fortunate peoples of the earth have hitherto enjoyed. No Nazi counter-revolution will stop it. The common man will smoke the Hitler stooges out into the open in the United States, in Latin America, and in India. He will destroy their influence. No Laval, no Mussolini will be tolerated in a Free World.

The people, in their millennial and revolutionary march toward manifesting here on earth the dignity that is in every human soul, hold as their credo the Four Freedoms enunciated by President Roosevelt in his message to Congress on January 6, 1941. These Four Freedoms are the very core of the revolution for which the United Nations have taken their stand. We who live in the United States may think there is nothing very revolutionary about freedom of religion, freedom of expression, and freedom from the fear of secret police. But when we begin to think about the significance of freedom from want for the aver-

age man, then we know that the revolution of the past 150 years has not been completed, either here in the United States or in any other nation in the world. We know that this revolution cannot stop until freedom from want has actually been attained.

A Free Man's Duties

And now, as we move forward toward realizing the Four Freedoms of this people's revolution, I would like to speak about four duties. It is my belief that every freedom, every right, every privilege has its price, its corresponding duty without which it cannot be enjoyed. The four duties of the people's revolution, as I see them today, are these:

1. The duty to produce to the limit.
2. The duty to transport as rapidly as possible to the field of battle.
3. The duty to fight with all that is within us.
4. The duty to build a peace—just, charitable, and enduring.

The fourth duty is that which inspires the other three.

We failed in our job after World War I. We did not know how to go about it to build an enduring world-wide peace. We did not have the nerve to follow through and prevent Germany from rearming. We did not insist that she "learn war no more." We did not build a peace treaty on the fundamental doctrine of the people's revolution. We did not strive wholeheartedly to create a world where there could be freedom from want for all the peoples. But by our very errors we learned much, and after this war we shall be in position to utilize our knowledge in building a world which is economically, politically, and, I hope, spiritually sound.

Modern science, which is a byproduct and an essential part of the people's revolution, has made it technologically possible to see that all of the people of the world get enough to eat. Half in fun and half seriously, I said the other day to Madame Litvinoff: "The object of this war is to make sure that everybody in the world has the privilege of drinking a quart of milk a day." She replied: "Yes, even half a pint." The peace must mean a better standard of living for the common man, not merely in the United States and England but also in India, Russia, China, and Latin America—not merely in the United Nations but also in Germany and Italy and Japan.

Some have spoken of the "American Century."

I say that the century on which we are entering—the century which will come out of this war—can be and must be the century of the common man. Perhaps it will be America's opportunity to suggest the freedoms and duties by which the common man must live. Everywhere the common man must learn to build his own industries with his own hands in a practical fashion. Everywhere the common man must learn to increase his productivity so that he and his children can eventually pay to the world community all that they have received. No nation will have the God-given right to exploit other nations. Older nations will have the privilege to help younger nations get started on the path to industrialization, but there must be neither military nor economic imperialism. The methods of the nineteenth century will not work in the people's century which is now about to begin. India, China, and Latin America have a tremendous stake in the people's century. As their masses learn to read and write, and as they become productive mechanics, their standard of living will double and treble. Modern science, when devoted wholeheartedly to the general welfare, has in it potentialities of which we do not yet dream.

Science Must Serve All

And modern science must be released from German slavery. International cartels that serve American greed and the German will to power must go. Cartels in the peace to come must be subjected to international control for the common man, as well as being under adequate control by the respective home governments. In this way, we can prevent the Germans from again building a war machine while we sleep. With international monopoly pools under control, it will be possible for inventions to serve all the people instead of only the few.

Yes, and when the time of peace comes, the citizen will again have a duty, the supreme duty of sacrificing the lesser interests for the greater interest of the general welfare. Those who write the peace must think of the whole world. There can be no privileged peoples. We ourselves in the United States are no more a master race than the Nazis. And we cannot perpetuate economic warfare without planting the seeds of military warfare. We must use our power at the peace table to build an economic peace that is just, charitable, and enduring.

If we really believe that we are fighting for a

people's peace, all the rest becomes easy. Production, yes—it will be easy to get production without either strikes or sabotage; production with the wholehearted cooperation between willing arms and keen brains; enthusiasm, zip, energy geared to the tempo of keeping at it everlastingly day after day. Hitler knows as well as those of us who sit in on the War Production Board meetings that we here in the United States are winning the battle of production. He knows that both labor and business in the United States are doing a most remarkable job and that his only hope is to crash through to a complete victory some time during the next six months.

And then there is the task of transportation to the line of battle by truck, by railroad car, by ship. We shall joyously deny ourselves so that our transportation system is improved by at least 30 percent.

I need say little about the duty to fight. Some people declare, and Hitler believes, that the American people have grown soft in the last generation. Hitler agents continually preach in South America that we are cowards, unable to use, like the "brave" German soldiers, the weapons of modern war. It is true that American youth hates war with a holy hatred. But because of that fact and because Hitler and the German people stand as the very symbol of war, we shall fight with a tireless enthusiasm until war and the possibility of war have been removed from this planet. We shall cleanse the plague spot of Europe, which is Hitler's Germany, and with it the hell-hole of Asia—Japan.

They Stood Like Men

The American people have always had guts and always will have. You know the story of Bomber Pilot Dixon and Radioman Gene Aldrich and Ordnanceman Tony Pastula—the story which Americans will be telling their children for generations to illustrate man's ability to master any fate. These men lived for 34 days on the open sea in a rubber life raft, 8 feet by 4 feet, with no food but that which they took from the sea and the air with one pocket knife and a pistol. And yet they lived it through and came at last to the beach of an island they did not know. In spite of their suffering and weakness, they stood like men, with no weapon left to protect themselves, and no shoes on their feet or clothes on their backs, and walked in military file because, they said, "if there were Japs, we didn't want to be crawling."

The American fighting men, and all the fighting men of the United Nations, will need to summon all their courage during the next few months. I am convinced that the summer and fall of 1942 will be a time of supreme crisis for us all. Hitler, like the prize fighter who realizes he is on the verge of being knocked out, is gathering all his remaining forces for one last desperate blow. There is abject fear in the heart of the madman and a growing discontent among his people as he prepares for his last all-out offensive.

We may be sure that Hitler and Japan will cooperate to do the unexpected—perhaps an attack by Japan against Alaska and our northwest coast at a time when German transport planes will be shuttled across from Dakar to furnish leadership and stiffening to a German uprising in Latin America. In any event, the psychological and sabotage offensive in the United States and Latin America will be timed to coincide with, or anticipate by a few weeks, the height of the military offensive.

The Ordeal Ahead

We must be especially prepared to stifle the fifth columnists in the United States who will try to sabotage not merely our war material plants but, even more important, our minds. We must be prepared for the worst kind of fifth-column work in Latin America, much of it operating through the agency of governments with which the United States at present is at peace. When I say this, I recognize that the peoples, both of Latin America and of the nations supporting the agencies through which the fifth columnists work, are overwhelmingly on the side of the democracies. We must expect the offensive against us on the military, propaganda, and sabotage fronts, both in the United States and in Latin America, to reach its apex some time during the next few months. The convulsive efforts of the dying madman will be so great that some of us may be deceived into thinking that the situation is bad at a time when it is really getting better. But in the case of most of us, the events of the next few months, disturbing though they may be, will only increase our will to bring about complete victory in this war of liberation. Prepared in spirit, we cannot be surprised. Psychological terrorism will fall flat. As we nerve ourselves for the supreme effort in this hemisphere we must not forget the sublime heroism of the oppressed in Europe and Asia, whether it be in the mountains of Yugoslavia, the factories of Czechoslovakia and France, the farms

of Poland, Denmark, Holland, and Belgium, among the seamen of Norway, or in the occupied areas of China and the Dutch East Indies. Everywhere the soul of man is letting the tyrant know that slavery of the body does not end resistance.

There can be no half measures. North, South, East, West, and Middle West—the will of the American people is for complete victory.

No compromise with Satan is possible. We shall not rest until all the victims under the Nazi yoke are freed. We shall fight for a complete peace as well as a complete victory.

UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE WELLES

*Reviews the fatal mistakes which followed World War I, the mistakes which led to disaster, and tells how they must be rectified in the post-war world.**

TODAY, as our Nation faces the gravest danger it has ever confronted since it gained its independence, the American people are once more meeting together in every State of the Union to commemorate the observance of Memorial Day. In the elm-shaded churchyards of the New England hills, in the more newly consecrated burial places of the West, here in the quiet century-old cemeteries of the South, men and women throughout the land are now paying tribute to the memories of those who have made the ultimate sacrifice for their country and for their fellow men.

Eighty years ago our people were engaged in a fratricidal war between the States. In the fires of that devastating struggle was forged the great assurance that, within the boundaries of the United States, men were, and would remain, free. The lives of those who died in that contest were not laid down in vain.

Forty-four years ago the United States went to war to help the gallant people of Cuba free themselves from the imposition by a nation of the Old World of a brutal tyranny which could not be tolerated in a New World dedicated to the cause of liberty. Through our victory in that war there was

The people's revolution is on the march, and the devil and all his angels cannot prevail against it. They cannot prevail, for on the side of the people is the Lord.

"He giveth power to the faint; to them that have no might He increaseth strength. . . . They that wait upon the Lord shall . . . mount up with wings as eagles; they shall run, and not be weary; they shall walk and not faint."

Strong in the strength of the Lord, we who fight in the people's cause will never stop until that cause is won.

wrought a lasting safeguard to the independence of the Republics of the Western Hemisphere. Our citizens who then gave up their lives did not do so in vain.

Twenty-five years ago the United States declared war upon Germany. Our people went to war because of their knowledge that the domination of the world by German militarism would imperil the continuation of their national existence. We won that victory. Ninety thousand of our fellow Americans died in that great holocaust in order to win that victory. They died firm in the belief that the gift of their lives which they offered their country would be utilized by their countrymen as they had been promised it would be—to insure beyond doubt the future safety of the United States, through the creation of that kind of world in which a peaceful democracy such as ours could live in happiness and in security.

These ninety thousand dead, buried here on the slopes of Arlington and in the fields of France where they fell in battle, fulfilled their share of the bargain struck. Can we, the living, say as much? Can we truly say, on this Memorial Day, that we have done what we, as a nation, could have done to keep faith with them, and to prevent their sacrifice from being made in vain?

*At the Arlington National Amphitheater, Memorial Day, 1942.

The people of the United States were offered at the conclusion of the last war the realization of a great vision. They were offered the opportunity of sharing in the assumption of responsibility for the maintenance of peace in the world by participating in an international organization designed to prevent and to quell the outbreak of war. That opportunity they rejected. They rejected it in part because of the human tendency after a great upsurge of emotional idealism to seek the relapse into what was once termed "normalcy." They rejected it because of partisan politics. They rejected it because of the false propaganda, widely spread, that by our participation in a world order we would incur the danger of war rather than avoid it. They rejected it because of unenlightened selfishness.

At the dawn of the nineteenth century an English poet wrote of his own land:

"... she is a fen
"Of stagnant waters: altar, sword, and pen,
"Fireside, the heroic wealth of hall and bower,
"Have forfeited their ancient English dower
"Of inward happiness. We are selfish men."

In 1920 and in the succeeding years we as a nation not only plumbed the depths of material selfishness, but we were unbelievably blind. We were blind to what constituted our own enlightened self-interest, and we therefore refused to see that by undertaking a measure of responsibility in maintaining world order, with the immediate commitments which that might involve, we were insuring our people and our democratic ideals against the perils of an unforeseeable future, and we were safeguarding our children and our children's children against having to incur the same sacrifices as those forced upon their fathers. Who can today compare the cost in life or treasure which we might have had to contribute toward the stabilization of a world order during its formative years after 1919, with the prospective loss in lives and the lowering of living standards which will result from the supreme struggle in which we are now engaged?

During the first century of our independence our forefathers were occupying and developing a continent. The American pioneer was pushing ever westward across the Alleghenies into the fertile Ohio valley, the Mississippi and Missouri country, the Southwest, and finally to the Pacific Coast. The shock of disaster elsewhere in the world was hardly felt; relief from recurring depressions could

always be found by expanding our frontiers, by opening up new lands and new industries to supply the needs of our rapidly expanding population. Thus cushioned against the impact of events abroad, the American standard of living steadily improved and became the hope of down-trodden peoples of other lands.

Protected by two great oceans to the east and to the west, with no enemies to the north or to the south, the nineteenth century imbued into the minds of our people the belief that in their isolation from the rest of the world lay their safety.

But the oceans shrank with the development of maritime communications, and the security which we enjoyed by reason of our friendly neighbors vanished with the growth of aviation. And even in our earlier days our industries became increasingly dependent upon raw materials imported from abroad; their products were sold increasingly in the markets of the Old World. Our urban industrial areas in the East became more and more dependent on our agricultural and mining areas in the West. All became increasingly dependent on world markets and world sources of supply.

With the close of the first World War the period of our isolation had ended. Neither from the standpoint of our physical security, nor from the standpoint of our material well-being could we any more remain isolated. But, as if by their fiat they could turn back the tides of accomplished fact, our leaders and the great majority of our people in those post-war years deliberately returned to the provincial policies and standards of an earlier day, thinking that because these had served their purpose in the past, they could do so again in a new and in a changed world.

And now we are engaged in the greatest war which mankind has known. We are reaping the bitter fruit of our own folly and of our own lack of vision. We are paying dearly as well for the lack of statesmanship, and for the crass errors of omission and of commission, so tragically evidenced in the policies of those other nations which have had their full share of responsibility for the conduct of human affairs during the past generation.

Victory Demands All

What can we now do to rectify the mistakes of these past two decades?

The immediate answer is self-evident. We must utterly and finally crush the evil men, and the

iniquitous systems which they have devised, that are today menacing our existence, and that of free men and women throughout the earth. There can be no compromise. There can be no respite until the victory is won. We are faced by desperate and powerful antagonists. To win the fight requires every ounce of driving energy, every resource and initiative, every sacrifice and every instinct of devotion which each and every American citizen possesses. None of us can afford to think of ourselves, none of us can dare to do less than his full part in the common effort. Our liberty, our Christian faith, our life as a free people are at stake. Those who indulge themselves in false optimism, those who believe that the peoples who are fighting with us for our common cause should relieve us of our due share of sacrifice, those who are reluctant to give their all in this struggle for the survival on the earth of what is fine and decent, must be regarded as enemies of the American people.

Now more than ever before must we keep the faith with those who lie sleeping in this hallowed ground—and with those who now at this very hour are dying for the cause and for the land they love.

Winning the Peace

And after we win the victory—and we will—what then? Will the people of the United States then make certain that those who have died that we may live as free men and women shall not have died in vain? I believe that in such case the voice of those who are doing the fighting, and the voice of those who are producing the arms with which we fight must be heard, and must be heeded. And I believe that these voices of the men who will make our victory possible will demand that justice be done, inexorably and swiftly to those individuals, groups, or peoples, as the case may be, that can truly be held accountable for the stupendous catastrophe into which they have plunged the human race. But I believe they will likewise wish to make certain that no element in any nation shall be forced to atone vicariously for crimes for which it is not responsible, and that no people shall be forced to look forward to endless years of want and of starvation.

I believe they will require that the victorious nations, joined with the United States, undertake forthwith during the period of the armistice the disarmament of all nations, as set forth in the

Atlantic Charter, which “may threaten aggression outside of their frontiers.”

I believe they will insist that the United Nations undertake the maintenance of an international police power in the years after the war to insure freedom from fear to peace-loving peoples until there is established that permanent system of general security promised by the Atlantic Charter.

Finally I believe they will demand that the United Nations become the nucleus of a world organization of the future to determine the final terms of a just, an honest, and a durable peace to be entered into after the passing of the period of social and economic chaos which will come inevitably upon the termination of the present war, and after the completion of the initial and gigantic task of relief, of reconstruction, and of rehabilitation which will confront the United Nations at the time of the armistice.

This is in very truth a people's war. It is a war which cannot be regarded as won until the fundamental rights of the peoples of the earth are secured. In no other manner can a true peace be achieved.

In the pre-war world large numbers of people were unemployed; the living standards of millions of people were pitifully low; it was a world in which nations were classified as “haves” and “have nots,” with all that these words imply in terms of inequity and hatred.

The pre-war world was one in which small vociferous privileged minorities in each country felt that they could not gain sufficient profits if they faced competition from abroad. Even this country with its rich natural resources, its vast economic strength, a population whose genius for efficient production enabled us to export the finest products in the world at low cost and at the same time to maintain the highest wages; a country whose competitive strength was felt in the markets of the world—even such a nation was long dominated by its minority interests who sought to destroy international trade in order to avoid facing foreign competition.

They not only sought to do so, but for long years following the first World War largely succeeded in doing so. The destruction of international trade by special minority interests in this and in other countries brought ruin to their fellow citizens by destroying an essential element upon which the national prosperity in each country in large measure depended. It helped to pave the way, through the impoverishment and distress of the people, for

militarism and dictatorship. Can the democracies of the world again afford to permit national policies to be dictated by self-seeking minorities of special privilege?

The problem which will confront us when the years of the post-war period are reached is not primarily one of production. For the world can readily produce what mankind requires. The problem is rather one of distribution and purchasing power; of providing the mechanism whereby what the world produces may be fairly distributed among the nations of the world; and of providing the means whereby the people of the world may obtain the world's goods and services. Your Government has already taken steps to obtain the support and active cooperation of others of the United Nations in this great task, a task which in every sense of the term is a new frontier—a frontier of limitless expanse—the frontier of human welfare.

Toward Freedom From Want

When the war ends with the resultant exhaustion which will then beset so many of the nations who are joined with us, only the United States will have the strength and the resources to lead the world out of the slough in which it has struggled so long; to lead the way toward a world order in which there can be freedom from want. In seeking this end we will of course respect the right of all peoples to determine for themselves the type of internal economic organization which is best suited to their circumstances. But I believe that here in our own country we will continue to find the best expression for our own and the general good under a system which will give the greatest incentive and opportunity for individual enterprise. It is in such an environment that our citizens have made this country strong and great. Given sound national policies directed toward the benefit of the majority, and not of the minority, and real security and equality of opportunity for all, reliance on the ingenuity, initiative, and enterprise of our citizens rather than on any form of bureaucratic management will in the future best assure the liberties and

promote the material welfare of our people.

In taking thought of our future opportunities we surely must undertake to preserve the advantages we have gained in the past. I cannot believe the peoples of the United States, and of the Western Hemisphere, will ever relinquish the inter-American system they have built up. Based as it is on sovereign equality, on liberty, on peace, and on joint resistance to aggression, it constitutes the only example in the world today of a regional federation of free and independent peoples. It lightens the darkness of our anarchic world. It should constitute a cornerstone in the world structure of the future.

If this war is in fact a war for the liberation of peoples it must assure the sovereign equality of peoples throughout the world, as well as in the world of the Americas. Our victory must bring in its train the liberation of all peoples. Discrimination between peoples because of their race, creed, or color must be abolished. The age of imperialism is ended. The right of a people to their freedom must be recognized, as the civilized world long since recognized the right of an individual to his personal freedom. The principles of the Atlantic Charter must be guaranteed to the world as a whole—in all oceans and in all continents.

And so, in the fullness of God's time when the victory is won, the people of the United States will once more be afforded the opportunity to play their part in the determination of the kind of world in which they will live. With courage and with vision they can yet secure the future safety of their country and of its free institutions, and help the nations of the earth back into the paths of peace.

Then, on some future Memorial Day, the American people, as they mark the graves of those who died in battle for their country in these last two World Wars, can at last truly say—"Sleep on in quiet and in peace; the victory you made it possible for us to win has now been placed at the service of your country and of humanity; your sacrifice has not been made in vain."

AMBASSADOR WINANT *pays tribute to the "enduring courage of our common men and women," and shows how they will profit in the post-war world.* He foresees that the war machinery of today will be converted back to the needs of people in a world which will promise freedom from want for all men.*

We are meeting together in a most critical stage of a struggle in which we all have our part to play. Our first duty is to give our best effort to destroy a Fascist system that is trying, without success, to make of Europe and Asia and our own home, a world of silent peoples.

You are hard-working and practical people. You know that we must concentrate on building up the great offensive of the United Nations. My countrymen are of the same mind. We are working to this end with you.

You know better than most of us that the present war must be won on the economic front if it is to be won on the military front. American workers are at one with British and Russian workers in putting their great energies into producing the goods of war. We must fight and work. We must man and arm the armies of democracy.

We are learning to know each other better as the battle moves forward, and as we work together in the economic world we come to find common ground in the social world. The unity of purpose of our peoples in the common war effort will be carried over to help us in the common social effort that must follow this war. You who suffered so deeply in the long depression years know that we must move on a great social offensive if we are to win the war completely. Anti-Fascism is not a short-term military job. It was bred in poverty and unemployment. To crush Fascism at its roots we must crush depression. We must solemnly resolve that in the future we will not tolerate the economic evils which breed poverty and war. This is not something that we shelve "for the duration." It is part of the war.

As I have watched the war develop and the spectacular advance of the military and industrial power of the United Nations I have felt a vast surge of social courage, vigor, and imagination

flooding up from the factories, the farms, the mines and the armies of the free peoples wherever they may be. All of us have been moved by the steadfast heroism of people in the countries of Europe overrun by Fascism. All of us have respected the gallantry of our fighting men. Perhaps too few of us have caught the enduring courage of our common men and women, not in the blitzes but in their day-to-day work.

"Fields of Heroism"

It calls back the truth of what William James once wrote as he caught a vision of the workers' part in the modern world: "I had never noticed," he said, "the great fields of heroism lying round about me, I had failed to see it present and alive . . . And yet there it was before me in the daily lives of the laboring classes. Not in clanging fights and desperate marches only is heroism to be looked for, but on every railway bridge and fireproof building that is going up today. On freight trains, on the decks of vessels, in cattleyards and mines, on lumber rafts, among the firemen and the policemen, the demand for courage is incessant: and the supply never fails."

The world of today and tomorrow demands courage. What I have seen of your people and what I know of mine and of people elsewhere has convinced me that our supply of courage will never fail. We have the courage to defeat poverty as we are defeating Fascism and we must translate it into action with the same urgency and unity of purpose that we have won from our comradeship in this war.

The pulse of social change is quickening. You can feel it and I can feel it. The President of the United States felt it when he told the International Labor Conference last fall that economics must be used to serve this need. It is no mere coincidence that throughout the world statesmen are voicing the will of democracy which is becoming socially articulate. It is an integral part of our war effort

* At Durham Miners' Association Hall, Durham, England, June 6, 1942.

We know there was something fundamentally wrong in the pre-war days when on one side workers were standing idle and on the other side people were underfed, badly housed, short of clothes, and children were stinted on education and deprived of their heritage of good health and happiness.

A Dynamic Peace

What we want is not complicated. We have enough technical knowledge and organizing ability to respond to this awakening of social conscience. We have enough courage. We must put it to use. When war is done, the drive for tanks must become a drive for houses. The drive for food to prevent the enemy from starving us must become a drive for food to satisfy the needs of all people in all countries. The drive for physical fitness in the forces must become a drive for bringing death and sickness rates in the whole population down to the lowest possible level. The drive for manpower in war must become a drive for employment to make freedom from want a living reality. The drive for an all-out war effort by the United Nations must become a drive for an all-out peace effort

based on the same cooperation and willingness to sacrifice.

These are only some of the basic things we want. It is not beyond our technical or spiritual capacity to have them. Just as the peoples of democracy are united in a common objective today, so we are committed to a common objective tomorrow. We are committed to the establishment of service to democracy. This is the democracy that brought Britain through the blitzes. This is the democracy that is manning our forces. This is the democracy that is bringing ships, planes, tanks and guns in growing volume from your factories and from ours. This is the peoples' democracy. We must keep it wide and vigorous, alive to need of whatever kind and ready to meet it whether it be danger from without or well-being from within, always remembering that it is the things of the spirit that in the end prevail, that caring counts; that where there is no vision people perish; that hope and faith count and that without charity there can be nothing good. That daring to live dangerously, we are learning to live generously and believing in the inherent goodness of man we may meet the call of your great Prime Minister and "stride forward into the unknown with growing confidence."

MILO PERKINS, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR OF THE BOARD OF ECONOMIC WARFARE,
*offers an economic blueprint and tells how mass production and long-term credits by all the governments of the world may bring about plenty—everywhere in the world.**

OUR COUNTRY is settling down to the grim business of smashing the Axis powers. We are beginning to realize that the national problem is an individual problem. There is a growing sense of personal responsibility for winning this war. Total victory cannot be left to the other fellow to work out in his own backyard. Each of us must contribute personally and with a whole heart to the utter defeat of our enemies. That individual determination and effort are all that stand between us and slavery. They are so important that nothing else matters for now. This is as it must be, but there is deeper, more significant meaning to this conflict.

We are engaged in a struggle that transcends the

present war. This is a long, long fight to make a mass-production economy work. The battle started when machines became important in the lives of men. It should be over within the generation following this conflict. The battle will be won when we have built up mass-consumption to a point where markets can absorb the output of our mass-production industries running at top speed. Then, so far as our physical needs are concerned, life can become a journey to be enjoyed rather than a battle to be fought.

Our minds are now creating neat little time compartments labeled pre-war, war and post-war but these are like the labels of childhood, youth and manhood to the individual who lives through them. This is a single and continuous struggle to

*At Swarthmore College, May 25, 1942.

achieve one goal. Complete victory will not be won until there is a full and increasing use of the world's resources to lift living standards from one end of this planet to the other. The twentieth century is a time set apart for the winning of this total triumph. Humanity is not going back to the wolf stage.

Men lost their battle to avoid this war. It was lost primarily because the world was unable to distribute what it had learned how to produce. This failure was as true of trade within countries as it was of trade between countries. The nightmare of underconsumption was the black plague of the pre-war era. We put up with a civilization which was commodity-rich but consumption-poor too long to avert the present catastrophe.

Challenge to Poverty

Today we realize as we never did in peacetime how important an all-out production effort is to our national strength. We are going at it like men killing snakes. We are building the machines with which to wipe the tyrants from the face of the earth. Our young men are fighting like tigers to keep this a free world. Their courage will bring us final military victory at the end of which we shall have the greatest production of raw materials, the greatest industrial plant, and the greatest number of skilled workers in all history. All this will exist side by side with intense want throughout every land. The bridging of that gap will present the greatest challenge any generation of young people ever faced.

Better than half of our industrial output at the end of this war will be going to one customer—our own Government. The business will exceed 70 billion dollars a year. Any attempt to stop that purchasing power abruptly would result in complete bankruptcy. There must be a gradual and sensible unwinding. Government must encourage business to regain its peacetime markets as fast as it can and business must encourage Government to taper off its activities slowly enough to keep production going full blast. The heavy demand for civilian goods in the immediate post-war period will make it easier to accomplish this transition.

Capital investment in heavy goods for reconstruction must replace capital investment in armaments at a rate adequate to maintain full employment. Any wavering in this course will bring on a tragedy worse than war. We can and we should have open discussion about the various methods of using our

resources to the utmost. But that is quite different from questioning the absolute necessity of their full utilization. Failure to use those resources to the utmost would be the one sure way to lose the way of life for which our sons are now willing and ready to die. Full-blast production for a gradually rising standard of living will be as necessary to win the peace as all-out production now is to win the war. It will be physically possible. Our number one post-war job will be to make it fiscally possible. If we can do that, private enterprise will enter upon an era of unparalleled activity.

The greatest untapped markets industrial capitalism has ever known will open up before us. Their development will be the one hope for our profit system. Industrial capitalism cannot survive without those markets. Of course it won't be easy. There will be complicated distribution problems to be worked out. There will be the problem of how to get purchasing power into the hands of potential customers so they can become real customers. There will be the problem of how to develop a peacetime job for every displaced worker in our armament industries. It will be hard but it won't be any tougher than winning this war. The plain people of this earth know what they want in the post-war period. Above all else they want to be wanted; they want a chance to work and be useful. They want an income which will give them enough food and clothing and shelter and medical care to drive the fear of want from the family fireside. And they want these simple things within a society that guarantees their civil liberties.

No More Idleness

The plain people will be understanding about the problems of readjustment. They will work hard for all this and they will walk any reasonable roads to these ends. But the chains of the ages have snapped. The one thing they won't do is to take "no" for a final answer to their cry for full employment. Not after all this suffering; not when they see themselves surrounded later on by too much of what they need most and yet might not be able to get. Idleness, be it of men or money or machines, will be the one unforgivable sin of the post-war world.

"But," some people ask, "how are we going to do all this?" The question sounds reasonable enough at first glance. Actually, however, only the timid ask it. The courageous ask, "Which method do you think will work best?" In the

first case, the questioner really doubts that much *can* be done to make the world work any better in the future than it worked in the past. In the second case, that hurdle has already been cleared, and the concern is with the most efficient and businesslike ways of getting the job done. It makes an enormous difference. The "how" people are afraid of the future. The "which" people welcome it! And make no mistake about it, the future belongs to them.

I could talk to you about ways of financing housing in the post-war world. I could talk to you about an imaginative use of long-term credits to industrialize the backward areas of three continents. I could tell you that if the peoples of Asia alone earned an extra penny a day it would open up a new market of 4 billion dollars a year for somebody. I could talk to you about what a decent diet for everybody would mean to farm income throughout every country. We could talk for hours about these things. As soon as the political shape of things to come in this world gets clearer, workable methods and programs must be considered in great detail.

But there will be time for that. Hundreds of preliminary blueprints for economic readjustments in the post-war world already have been drawn. We are not short on blueprints. What we are short on is faith in the future of our own country. Let's not put the cart before the horse. What we need first is a new buoyancy which comes only to those who know there is a solid basis upon which to welcome tomorrow with a sense of adventure.

Once that is reawakened in us as a whole people, a thousand and one individuals will come forward with a thousand and one businesslike projects for making a mass production economy work. The magnificent fight of Secretary Hull for a freer flow of goods in this world is going to be won. Every farmer, every worker and every business man will be needed to get the job done. Personal responsibility for economic victory at the end of this conflict will be as necessary as personal responsibility for military victory is today.

That's the way we conquered the West and that's the way we built our magnificent industrial empire. That's the way we're going at the winning of this war and that's the way we're going to win the peace. When a whole people is dedicated to one goal no obstacle on earth can stand against the singleness of purpose. These are times of great crisis but we needn't be terrified by them. The Chinese write the word "crisis" with two characters,

one of which means "danger" and the other "opportunity." That's worth remembering.

When the history of this period is written a couple of centuries from now, the present war may be treated as an incident of adjustment to the scientific realities of our times. In every civilization of the past, bar none, if men took the most that it was possible to produce and divided it among all who were alive to share it, the answer was always a miserable standard of living.

The New Abundance

Within your lifetime and mine, however, men have entered an era dominated by the machine and the test tube. If we take all that can be produced at the end of this war and divide it among the people who will then be alive to share it, we shall be within reach of a very good standard of living for the first time in all history. That will be the most important material thing that's happened to the human race since the discovery of fire and the invention of the wheel.

The job of the future will be to build up a mass consumption great enough to use this mass production. That will require a bold and daring use of long-term credits by every enlightened government of the world. Governments must enter fields where private finance cannot enter without assuming risks that are too great to take with other people's money. By that very act, however, the area of private investment will be broader and safer than it was in the last two decades. A world at work at decent wages is a world of economic stability. Idleness is the greatest of all threats to confidence.

Of course there are changes ahead but this evolutionary progress need not destroy our system of private enterprise. On the contrary, those changes can provide an environment in which industrial capitalism can be strengthened enormously. We have it in us to measure up to this job of maintaining full employment. The war is toughening us for the greatest conquest men have ever faced—the conquest of backwardness and unnecessary poverty. We are learning to live like men who are conquerors to the core.

What does all this mean to us as individuals? It means that our personal fortunes will be tied to what happens to groups of other men in this world as those fortunes never were in the past. It means that what today does to us as individuals is probably not very important. What is important is

what we do with tomorrow by way of keeping the whole world at work on all-out production for a century to come. If we can lose ourselves wholeheartedly in that job, we shall find personal completeness as men have never found it before.

If we cannot, the tides of life will leave us to one side; we shall become isolated in a world where men are growing closer to each other. I don't think that will happen to very many members of this senior class. Swarthmore teaches men and

women the inward significance of a diploma. It teaches them that true graduation is never finished, that it is a perpetual becoming.

After all, the only lasting security for any of us lies in moving constantly forward. Those who have won to this understanding welcome a changing future every morning of their lives—and love it. They alone have the competence to lead us through the rest of this dramatic epoch upon which the world has now entered.

